

STAT

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DR. MARVIN L. GOLDBERGER
 Chairman

April 1972

DR. JEREMY J. STONE
 Director

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The Federation of American Scientists is actively seeking the support and participation of persons in the public health field. Unlike other scientific organizations concerned with health, such as APHA, FAS has never sought a tax exemption. It can lobby--and wants to--on matters of concern to public health specialists. But to do this it must generate a constituency of informed and concerned persons within the organization.

The enclosed materials reflect the very substantial progress made in the past year of organizational rejuvenation. During 1970-71, the Federation became a major voice of opposition to excessive arms race policies. It expanded its efforts on matters involving environment and high technology. And it developed plans for exerting influence on other issues of special interest to scientists.

No organization is more cost-effective. On a very limited budget last year, FAS was widely quoted on such issues as the Amchitka nuclear test, SALT proposals, the No-ABM agreement, the R&D Gap scare, the Geneva Protocol on Biological and Chemical warfare, and the SST. As a "Science and Government Report" article reprinted on the reverse side reveals, the Federation began to become a fixture on Capitol Hill.

Members receive the FAS newsletter each month. They vote for officers once a year. They may join TACTIC (Technical Advisory Committees to Influence Congress), our lobbying arm of scientists, which entitles them to receive periodic mailings of material on topics upon which they might wish to communicate with their Congressmen. FAS members also suggest ideas to our national office, comment upon our statements, and get advice from our Washington office when they come to visit their Congressmen. But most important, they support a truly unique effort to give science and scientists an effective voice on Capitol Hill.

Many of you feel that scientists should be more active on public policy issues. Many of you regret that your professional associations do not take a more active role in these matters. The Federation offers you a chance to participate in an active and influential organization designed to express its view in the Executive and Legislative branches of Government. Why not join us?

Sincerely,

Jeremy J. Stone
 Jeremy J. Stone

FEDERATION of AMERICAN SCIENTISTS (FAS)*

The Capitol has not seen anything quite like the FAS performance since the struggle over creation of the Atomic Energy Commission. If the federation proves durable, it will add to the public process something that heretofore has been available only in spotty amounts: a genuine adversary system in areas of public concern that traditionally have been dominated by "kept" experts.

SCIENCE & GOVERNMENT REPORT June 15, 1971

END THE U.S.-SOVIET ARMS RACE SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF ENVIRONMENT AND HIGH TECHNOLOGY

Virtually all Americans know that nuclear war would be mutual suicide.

Virtually all Americans want more independent analysis of environment and technology problems.

But a collection of vested interests, outmoded notions, and slow reacting Government processes, often promote policies whose effect is to accelerate — rather than to terminate — the arms race. The same factors often complicate — rather than resolve — environmental problems.

The FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS (FAS) is now the major voice of opposition to misguided and excessive arms race policies. Its record of achievement in the last year is documented on this flier. Also recorded are a number of victories in the expanding FAS effort to protect the environment from the ravages of technology.

But we need help. The Arms Race and the other problems of Environment and of Science and Society that we tackle deserve support from all Americans, not only scientists. Scientists and engineers of all kinds are urged to join as full members; non-scientist supporters may become associate members. All will receive the newsletter. All will play their part in the historic effort to turn the arms race around and ensure a peaceful world and a protected environment.

*The Federation is a democratically structured and non-partisan organization of natural and social scientists and engineers and others concerned with problems of science and society. Registered to lobby in support of its views, FAS takes positions and argues for them in the critical public and Congressional debates over appropriate legislation. FAS was founded in 1946 and was especially active in the post-war fight to assure civilian control over atomic energy. It embarked on a renewal program of enhanced activity in July 1970.

FAS OFFICERS — 1971-1972

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JOIN TACTIC

An FAS member who wishes to interact with his Congressman about science and society issues may join the Federation's Technical Advisory Committee to Influence Congress (TACTIC) in his Congressional District. Periodically, TACTIC participants receive background material to inform them on issues before Congress as well as estimates of when the legislation is scheduled to be considered. They are also informed of Congressional recesses and urged to meet with their Congressman when he returns to the District. During the first half-year of this program, TACTIC issues included the Supersonic Transport (SST), ABM, MIRV, the Geneva Protocol on Chemical and Biological weapons, and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

TACTIC Committees also serve to keep the FAS national office informed of their Congressman's needs for advice, and of his views. In order to cover costs, TACTIC members are asked to contribute \$5 in addition to their dues.

Elected National Council Members*

Harrison Brown, Geochemistry and Government; Calif Institute of Technology	George William Rathjens, Political Science, Mass. Institute of Technology
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Morton Halperin, Political Science, Washington, D. C.	Eugene B. Skolnikoff, Chairman, Dept. of Political Science, Mass. Institute of Technology
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Philip Morrison, Physics, Mass. Institute of Technology	Lincoln Wolfenstein, Physics, University of Michigan
Laurence I. Moss, Public Policy & Environment, Washington, D. C.	Quentin D. Young, Medicine, Northwestern University Medical School
John R. Platt, Physics, University of Michigan	
Joel Primack, Physics, Harvard University	

*Institutions listed for identification purposes only.

FAS PUBLISHES AN INFORMATIVE NEWSLETTER

Often the Federation newsletter was devoted to separate topics of special interest.

November: Unemployment of Scientists & Engineers

December: The Greening of America

January: Summary of National Science Policy Hearings

February: Privacy of Communications in American Life: Eavesdropping and Mail Covers

March: America and the Use of Force (War Crimes)

In each case, the articles reflected ongoing quiet FAS efforts to resolve the problems discussed.

(Continued on reverse side)

FAS EXPOSES R&D GAP EXAGGERATIONS

Early in May, the Federation released a detailed report documenting exaggerations in the Soviet threat presented by the Pentagon's Directorate of Defense Research and Engineering. The statement led to a Congressional Investigation by the Research and Development Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The report was the subject of widespread news, TV, and radio comment including a Herblock cartoon.

Time said:

TIME
A New Gap. If Foster is wrong but manages to convince the Administration that such a threat exists, the result could be to destroy the spirit if not the substance of the SALT negotiations, and cut to a minimum any chances of real force reductions in Europe. After the "bomber gap" of the 1950s and the "missile gap" of the 1960 election campaign proved to be nonexistent, a "technology gap" cannot be taken on faith today—especially when it could seriously affect the chances of a *détente*.

A Christian Science Monitor editorial called FAS a "front" for Administration opponents to the arms race:

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

At State Department, Treasury, Bureau of the Budget, and the White House are people who prefer not to talk out in public, but are delighted to have the Federation of Scientists speak out on what is a highly controversial subject. The Bureau of the Budget, for example, wants to save all the money it safely can, but is in a poor position to argue in public against Pentagon assertions about the latest form of the "Russian menace." The federation acts, therefore, as the public front for the opposition inside the administration to a new and bigger weapons program.

FAS PROTECTS THE ENVIRONMENT FROM TECHNOLOGY

FAS OPPOSES THE SST

September 29, 1970

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, subsequent to that statement and, indeed, 4 days after the ABC program was aired, the executive committee of the Federation of American Scientists expressed the federation's strong opposition to continue Government expenditures on the SST. On the point of possible upper atmospheric effects, the federation said:

The dangers of pollution of the upper atmosphere, even if in fact quite serious, could not be researched and resolved in a sufficiently decisive fashion to prevent an economically plausible SST from being produced and used. Now is the time to protect the environment.

Mr. President, at one time I took some momentary comfort from the administration's statement that the environmental effects of the SST would be thoroughly investigated the SST program deferred or abandoned if good cause appeared from those investigations. Upon reflection, though, I saw that the environmental stakes involved in this controversy may be so high that a fail-safe philosophy should be followed—that we should not proceed with deployment of a fleet of SST's until the SST is proved to be environmentally safe.

Now I find that a distinguished body of highly qualified scientists believes that the time to protect the upper environment, and indeed the population of the earth, from the potential environmental hazards of the SST is literally now or never—that there is no fail-safe approach to development of the SST.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the September 17, 1970, statement of the Federation of American Scientists in opposition to continued Government funding of the SST prototype program.

FAS OPPOSES RESERVATIONS TO GENEVA PROTOCOL

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Perverting the Geneva Protocol

The Federation of American Scientists has succinctly observed that the Administration's reservations on the Geneva Protocol are "highly questionable legally, absurd politically, repugnant morally, and foolish strategically." In attempting to justify the continuing use of tear gas and herbicides in Vietnam, where these loathsome weapons appear to have had only marginal military utility at best, the White House has invited the censure of the world. It has risked undermining the barrier against more lethal chemicals which American statesmen wisely sought to erect at Geneva after World War I had exposed the full horror of gas warfare.

In March, FAS opposed the Administration reservations on the Geneva Protocol, reservations that would have permitted use of tear gas and herbicides in war. Widely reported, the Federation position was referred to in this New York Times editorial.

FAS SHOWS MULTIMEGATON AMCHITKA NUCLEAR TEST UNNECESSARY

In May, FAS traveled to Alaska to make its point that the multimegaton blast in the Aleutians was unnecessary. The front page of the Sunday New York Times carried a story that began:

THE NEW YORK TIMES

WARHEAD FOR ABM TERMED OBSOLETE

Scientists Cast Doubt on Big
H-Bomb Device Slated for
Test Blast in Aleutians

By JOHN W. FINNEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 29—The Atomic Energy Commission is spending \$190-million to test-fire an antimissile warhead that it contends is vital for national defense but that some scientists allege is obsolete.

The argument that the warhead, first conceived five years ago, is irrelevant to the changed mission of the Safeguard system, was made yesterday by Dr. Jeremy J. Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists, in testifying before an A.E.C. board in Anchorage, Alaska.

"Basically," he said, "Cannikin is a bureaucratic oversight—an experiment that has been waiting to be canceled since, in early 1969, the President changed the rationale for the U.S. ABM away from the anti-Chinese system."

Science Magazine noted

In its environmental impact statement, the AEC said that failure to conduct the Cannikin test "would severely hamper the development of nuclear weapons technology of prime significance to our national security requirements." Previously, such statements by the AEC have gone largely unchallenged, due to a veil of secrecy over the relevant data. But a good deal is known about the future uses of the warhead to be tested beneath Amchitka, and this has led to knowledgeable criticism of the test's utility. Much of this criticism has come from the Federation of American Scientists (FAS).

Herbert F. York, chairman of FAS and the first director of Defense Department Research and Engineering, called the Cannikin test a "pointless experiment in search of an unnecessary weapon."

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☐ I enclose an additional \$5 plus 50¢ handling for a reduced rate copy of "Race to Oblivion" by Herbert F. York.

☐ Please send me information on FAS group life insurance.

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☐ I am a Natural or Social Scientist or Engineer.

OR

☐ I wish to be an Associate Member.

SEND THE ABOVE INFORMATION TO: FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

203 C Street, N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002

For questions call: (202) 546-3300

Below are excerpts from an article concerning the Federation from an independent newsletter written and published by Daniel S. Greenberg, formerly of Science Magazine.

SCIENCE & GOVERNMENT REPORT

Vol. 1, No. 10

P.O. Box 21123, Washington, D.C. 20009

June 15, 1971

Science and the military, once the very best of symbiotic couplings, have not been getting on well of late, and the only visible prospects are for a further deterioration in their relations. The background to all this, of course, is the nationwide, Vietnam-induced disenchantment with all things military, but on the Washington scene, an important irritant is the newly rejuvenated Federation of American Scientists (FAS), which, after 25 drowsy years, has suddenly sprung forth as a staging area from which one-time science advisers to the high councils are venting their dissent and disillusion. During its first quarter century, FAS did little more than coast on the remembered glories of having been born in the early postwar struggle for civilian control of atomic energy. But now it has a Washington office and fulltime staff, directed by an intensely energetic and properly certified scholar of arms control, Jeremy Stone, a Ph.D. mathematician with an extensive background in international studies. The organization's \$40,000 budget is derived from a \$15 per year membership fee paid by its approximately 1500 members, donations, and some income that originates in an insurance program for the members. The efficacy of the Stone-directed FAS attack on Defense weapons planning recently received a high accolade in the form of a feverish assault from none other than that hawkish dean of vitriolic journalism, columnist Joseph Alsop, long an advocate of arm to the teeth and don't trust anyone. Alsop was moved to take note of Stone and his associates by publication of an FAS paper titled, "Is There an R&D Gap?", which, in reasonably scholarly fashion, demonstrated that the Defense Department's director of research, John Foster, is talking rot in his lately adopted contention that the Soviets are about to race ahead of the U.S. in military research activities. What made the paper especially galling for Alsop, and, presumably, his Pentagon friends, is that the current chairman of FAS is Herbert F. York, the 1958-61 occupant of Foster's Pentagon position, and that the four authors of the document cannot be shrugged off as uninformed dogooders. The group was chaired by Marvin Goldberger, chairman of the Princeton physics department, who has been a high-level official of the Institute for Defense Analyses as well as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee and the Defense Science Board. The other members are: George Rathjens, Professor of Political Science at MIT, who was formerly deputy director of the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency; F.M. Scherer, professor of economics at Michigan, and co-author of a standard work on military R&D, "The Weapons Acquisition Process," and Richard R. Nelson, professor of economics at Yale, an internationally recognized authority on the economics of research and innovation.

Their case, covering 37 tightly written, well-documented pages—with emphasis on contradictions and discrepancies in congressional testimony by Foster and his Defense associates—does not lend itself to summary. (The entire paper is reprinted in the *Congressional Record* of May 10.) But the stated conclusion of the group's findings fully conveys the flavor of their work, to wit: Foster's warnings of possible impending Soviet supremacy in military research "has been a classical numbers game featuring selective disclosure, questionable assumptions, exaggeratedly precise estimates, misleading language, and alarmist nonsequitur conclusions."

Just how effective the FAS can be is still too early for accurate assessment, but the fact is that it has been ingratiating itself on Capitol Hill in an altogether unique fashion. Various legislators, including some former longtime friends of the Defense Department, now feel sour toward the traditional practice of giving the Pentagon an essentially blank check on national resources. And they welcome the availability of something that heretofore has never been readily available, namely, well-seasoned, independent experts whose credentials easily match, and often exceed, those of the Defense Department experts who formerly had the field to themselves. This interest showed itself on May 25, when the Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee took the unusual step of accepting an FAS offer to provide a group of expert, independent witnesses to comment on the Defense Department budget for the next fiscal year. It would be interesting to know what mutterings of anguish went on in the Pentagon that day, for the quartet that showed up before the subcommittee consisted of Princeton's Goldberger, Herbert Scoville, former deputy director of the CIA; George Kistiakowsky, White House science adviser under President Eisenhower, and Leslie H. Gelb, former director of the policy planning staff for the Defense Department's office of International Security Affairs.

Similarly, on June 10, the FAS sent another of its big guns to the Capitol, Morton H. Halperin, deputy assistant secretary for Arms Control and Policy Planning under President Johnson, following which he was a member of the senior staff of the National Security Council in the present Administration. Halperin, appearing before the House Defense Appropriations Committee, urged the legislative branch to exercise independent judgment on military affairs, and called for sharp cuts in defense spending.

The Capitol has not seen anything quite like the FAS performance since the struggle over creation of the Atomic Energy Commission. If the federation proves durable, it will add to the public process something that heretofore has been available only in spotty amounts: a genuine adversary system in areas of public concern that traditionally have been dominated by "kept" experts.

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